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THE SITUATION OF SINGLE WOMEN-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

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WOMEN-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN INDIA

(A micro-study from an Indian slum)

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INTRODUCTION

When first invited to write a paper on single-women-head-households in India we hesitated. On the one hand, we were very happy that such a prestigious organization as the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) had recognized the problem of women-heads-of-households and was prepared to give serious consideration to it at a regional conference. We come across such women very often in our work in slums and have witnessed their plight. Poor economic conditions and lower social status are the main characteristics that we observe in such families. The solution to such a problem does not lie in only giving immediate services but it calls for basic structural changes in society. We, therefore, felt a kind of committment to reveal and expose the hard struggle these women were undergoing. However, on the other hand, upon second thought, the time given to write the paper was too short to more adequately study the problem.[1] We were afraid to do injustice to the problem if we consented to write, but not to write at all would be to do a greater injustice. Therefore, under great limitations of time, paucity of material on the subject, we decided to undertake the task, focusing largely on in-depth interviews with five single-women-head-households.

Establishing rapport with the women interviewed and getting them to open up was no problem because they knew us and our work for a long time. they were, in fact, very eager to talk because for the first time in their life they were meeting a person genuinely interested in the struggle they have undergone as heads-of-households.

When we went to look for the existing literature on this problem we found very little material available. There were small scale surveys, undertaken by the SEWA, a 12,000 member organization of street vendors in Ahmadabad, Gujarat, which showed the preponderance of women-headed-households among these vendors. Another survey conducted by Agro-Economic Research Centre of Andhra University and analysed by Professor G. Parthasarathy again revealed the prevalance of women-headed-households in 20 to 50 per cent and their number increasing with their poverty. He stressed the necessity of making statistical analysis of the census data to ascertain their number and the poverty condition.

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1 Although the invitation to write the paper came in mid-July, clarifying with ESCAP the delimitation of the topic and getting its final approval to go ahead came in late August giving us only several weeks to prepare the paper.

Ms. Maitreyi Krishna Raj's study of 50 Rural Female-heads-of-households in Maharashtra disclosed the main cause of female headship was widowhood and their number was more among the Christians and Schedule Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. Another valuable observation was that sex specific division of labour in agriculture does not hold good in the case of women-headed-households. One of the basic problems she mentioned was that of the absence of satisfactory analytical criteria for determining headship which amounts to ignoring women's economic contribution. This has adverse effect on women's position and status in the family. These were the only three studies done so far, specially on woman-headed-households. Apart from these, references to single-women-headed-families occur in studies on Hindu widows, on role conflicts among working mothers and in women and work in general. It is not considered as a separate analytical category in the index of books on women's problems.

Great inadequacies of previous studies on any level on women-headed-households placed us with little to fall back on except for few clues already mentioned. However, this gave us an opportunity to look at the problem with a fresh perspective. What happens to a woman when suddenly she becomes the head of her family and has to play the role for which she is totally inequipped? Which are the areas in which she experiences the loss of a man? Does the new responsibility change her self-perception? Do the structural changes in the family bring about change in its value system? If, as the previous studies indicate, there exists co-relation between poverty and women-headed-households what would be the programme to solve their problem? These were some questions we thought worth exploring with the women who were already in contact with us due to our work in the slums.

Our study, and therefore this paper, has two limitations: one is that, it only is a micro study of five women and the second is that it is confined to the study of urban slum dwellers, so it cannot generalise about rural women who are far larger in number in a country like India. This micro study of five women does not claim to be a representative one. The cases were not selected on random basis. They were among the first five which came to our mind as women-heads-of-households. However, we felt that the demographic characteristics seen in these women are fairly common to women in general from poor class. Four out of the five women belong to the lower castes and only one belongs to the highest caste, namely, Brahmin. All belong to the poor class, have very little or no education and fall in the age range of 45 to 75. We therefore felt that the picture which emerges out of this study will not be very far from the picture of large number of women-headed-households.

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This micro study of ours, supports some of the findings of previous studies, especially, in terms of women-heads-of-households and poverty. Our finding exposes the popular Indian myth of the Suffering Seeta.[2] When women are forced by the circumstance, they throw away their inhibitions and start challengirg the traditional values. Man's role in their life becomes marginal. It is felt that co-relation between the structural changes in the family and emergence of a new value system should be further explored. Our study throws some light on the problem of migration but it needs further exploration. The problem of discontinuity in the life situation changes the self-image of women resulting into changed social interaction. This is another area which deserves the attention of social scientists. Many more studies are needed on the problem of women-heads-of-households both on the micro-level as well as the promotion of macro analysis from micro studies and statistical analysis from census data. With the constraint of time these questions were touched in the present study but further investigation is needed for the development of relevant theory on it.

This paper is divided in five parts. The first part explains the extent and the nature of problem; the second part explains different factors related to women-heads-of-households, the third part describes the attention paid so far at the government level to this problem; the fourth part covers the profiles of these five women drawn from in-depth interviews and the fifth part summarizes the conclusions.

I. Understanding the problem

A. Extent of the problem

In India, traditionally woman is considered the incarnation of strength in the universe. She is 'Shakti'[3] because she has the power of creation. Popularly, her image is that of a creeper, a dependent, who cannot grow unless there is a man to support her. Her life cannot be complete without a man: as though man's can be complete without her. However, this popular image proves to be only a myth when one studies the lives of single women who are heading their households. The hard work that they put in, the courage that they show, the struggle that they undergo to rear their children, the humiliation that they have to suffer in the man-made culture, the injustice that they have to face and finally the self respect that they earn, completely washes away this popular myth of a creeper. They prove to be a real 'Shakti'.

/Even

Even today policy makers and thinkers don't seem to take any cognisance of the incidence of single-women-headed-households as a separate category for consideration. When one goes to look for the data on single-women-headed-households into the books written on women's issues, one hardly comes across any such reference. Very few studies have been done on the problems of single-women-headed-household. But when one inquires about it in slums and lower middle class localities people come out with a big list of households where woman alone is managing the family. Pramila Dandavte, the member of Parliament who was awarded "Women's Liberation Prize" for 1983 by a Private Trust in Pune, while replying to the felicitation, referred to the number of women-headed-households as 30% in India.[4] G. Parthasarthy has said from the data he has analysed on rural poverty and women-heads-of-households that women heads form a significant and distant category calling for separate analysis of the available data in national census.[5] Buvinic and Youseff say that it is now estimated that between 25 to 33 per cent of all households in the world are de facto headed by women and often the percentage is much higher in a particular region within a country because of death, desertion, migration and polygamy.[6] Thus, in spite of the evidence of the substantial contribution that women are making to productive work, their role is considered only partially supportive to the family income. Devaki Jain, a prominant Indian thinker on women's problems, says:

> "At first glance this evidence seems no more than to suggest that poor women are enduring severe economic pressures to the same extent as poor men - contrary to popular belief that the brunt of the economic burden is usually carried by men, with women's work providing supplementary income. The participation rates, the nomenclatures given to women's work as "secondary", "supplementary" - all have supported this view. The new statistics explode this myth." 7

B. Definition of head-of-household

In fact, the problem starts right from defining the term 'head-of-household'. As per cultural norms, it is always the male who heads the family. Only in the absence of male in the family a female would be named as head-of-household. In the absence of a man, usually, the son's name is put on most of the official documents like ration card, for example, and he is declared as the head of household, even if he is a minor. In the case of families where a male may be alive, but invalid, and where for all the practical purposes, it is the woman who is heading the house, the invalid male will be referred to as the head-of-household and not the woman.

/Absence

Absence of satisfactory criteria to define head-of household, results into under-estimation of the problem itself. Maitreyi Krishna Raj rightly puts that "there are therefore two problems: (a) the nomination scheme itself and (b) the situation of women who are nominated as heads. The first problem relates to the socially accepted authority structure, the second relates to the differential status of women who become the heads-of-households".[8] Buvinic and Youseff describe women-heads-of-households in the following terms: "These are the women who because of marital dissolution, desertion, abandonment, absence of spouse, of male marginality are structurally placed in a situation in which they become economically responsible for themselves and their children".

In the patriarchal social structures, therefore, woman acts as the head-of-household only: (a) if there is no adult man in her life at a given period in the familial role, (b) if the man is away temporarily - (where there is a possibility of his returning some day) and, (c) if he is invalid and is not able to support the family. In fact, there is one more situation which does not fit into this typology but which deserves attention because in that situation man does not perform the functions as head-of-household. It is the situation where man and woman both are earning and man's earnings go into liquor and such other vices and only woman's earnings support the family.

In the societies where patriarchy is the norm, woman has a secondary status and where woman has a secondary status the family which she heads carries the same. In the country like India where female literacy is only 24%, and where equal wages for equal work is prescribed but not practiced, women are totally inequipped to take the responsibility of the family, with the result, the vicious circle of poverty-ignorance-poverty is carried on to the second generation. Buvinic and Youseff write, "The international data is compelling in showing the linkage between female family headship and poverty". It is estimated that these families might be the poorest of the poor. Conscious efforts on the part of government towards modernisation has increased the rate of migration. This has brought about structural changes in the traditional joint family system. There no more exist joint families to take care of widows, deserted women and invalids. In the changing pattern they have become destitute and have to find their own way for subsistance. Unavailability of employment sometimes forces these women to get into another evil. i.e. prostitution. Urbanisation and industrialisation

/has

has encouraged trafficking in women to a great extent. One of our respondents, Anasuyabai, though not a regular prostitute has been living a life as a sex deviant. Circumstances forced her to keep relations with the married man. There may be many others who have become victims of the existing social conditions in order to support their families. The picture of a woman who heads the household, therefore, is that of a continually struggling, economically poor and socially degraded human being. Our micro study of five women-headed-households supports these observations.

II. Context of the problem

A. Caste[9]

In India, for any probe into social problems, caste becomes an essential analytical category. In our sample of five cases, one belonged to the higher caste - Brahmin, two to middle level caste - Maratha and two to lower castes Mahar, which were formery considered untouchables. Though untouchability is abolished by law and caste discrimination is not observed publicly, caste system is very much a part of Indian consciousness. Caste still being an endogamous social group, each has its peculiar culture which is reflected in daily practices and behavioural norms. The lower the caste the more flexible the norms of behaviour. Also, the lower the caste, the lesser the education and the poorer the economic conditions. These generalisations are evident in our sample cases too. In the villages, lower castes usually work as landless labour. Rupabai, the scheduled caste woman said:

> "We had no land of our own. We worked on someone else's land. It was very hard after my husband died because they always pay less to a woman. For a Maratha woman, it is much better. Other relations take care of the Maratha widow because they have their own land and they know she also has a share in it. But in our community no relative supports you. You suddenly become destitute .... When they know that there is no man to protect you, they look at you with bad motives. They sort of feel, you are now available to them. One feels very insecure."

Anasuyabai, who also belongs to the scheduled caste, said:

> "In the village, you find it very difficult to do the job other than the traditionally prescribed ones for each caste. But, in the city, you don't feel any such restriction. That is why I worked as a scavenger, though it is considered below dignity among us. I was so hard pressed for money that I even did that."

/Caste

Caste becomes a problem for a single woman in another sense also. Krishnabai said:

> "In our caste, proposals for marriage have to come from the boy but when there is no man in the family, proposals don't come - one reason is that you cannot pay good dowry and they always suspect the single mother of her character. If I marry off my daughter in lower caste, they will outcaste us, so I cannot take the risk."

Today in the urban situation caste provides no other protection except a sense of belonging. If women don't cling to their own castes it may give them a sense of complete uprooting and that is threatening.

B. Migration

One of the factors contributing to the creation of women-headed-households is migration. Either men move out in search of employment leaving women to manage the children or women migrate in the hope of a job and establish their own household. Economic reason is not the only reason for migration. There are other cultural and social reasons which force them to leave their native place. As described earlier, one of the major constraints is one's own caste and therefore only selective employment opportunities are available in the village. A woman without a man is forced to live only a peripheral life which alienates her from normal social intercourse but may help her adopt new norms of behaviour. "In the slum, my neighbours do not necessarily belong to my caste", says Rupabai, "so it is easy to take to any occupation. In the village, this is not possible". Seetabai said, "I wanted to be independent but in the village how could I establish a separate home? Who would have given a job for a Brahmin lady? A Brahmin lady cannot work on the farm or do any other manual work for wages. In the city, everyone gets a suitable job".

C. Cultural constraints

The lower the caste the less are the inhibitions and so easier the adjustment to the situation. In fact, as Seetabai said, Brahmin widows would generally prefer to suffer in the joint family or to take shelter with some distant relative than being independent and self-supportive. Laws regarding divorce are much simpler among the scheduled castes. Taking another wife by deserting the first, without lawfully divorcing her, is not uncommon. Contrary to the popular belief, a woman walking out of the house is equally common. All these add to the increased proportion of single-women-headed-households among the scheduled castes.

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There is no empirical data available to see how many widowers remarry soon after the death of their wife but casual observation tells us that widowers with children usually take second wife. On the other hand, even though widow remarriage is accepted by law long back, socially, it lowers the status of a woman if she does so. In a society where woman's primary role is considered that of giving service to the husband, a widow who leads her life in his name after his death, has higher status than the deserted wife. Traditionally, the widow has an institutionalised status as against the deserted one who is considered a deviant. Widows are given due respect but are not allowed to participate in any religious rituals. But deserted wives experience a complete loss of status. "You are never invited to any social functions and you feel too isolated", said Subhadrabai.

D. Education

In their own generation, except the Brahmin, Seetabai, no other woman seem to understand the value of education. She kept saying, "If only I had little education I would have achieved much more in life". After marriage she learned to read and write on her own. She was very proud in saying "I never sign any paper without first reading it". Now, in the second generation, all the five women were conscious that their children should be educated. The struggle that these women undergo for earning daily bread and the elevated status that they get due to the structural changes in the family, bring about this change of attitude regarding the value of education. Anasuyabai, who is completely illiterate, said:

> "I have thrown my son out of the house because he refused to re-appear for secondary school certificate examination. I gave him additional fees to attend a private class, even then he failed. I said never mind and try again. But he wants to give it up. I said no. Unless you have a certificate you can't get good job and I don't want to see my children to become paupers."

Krishnabai said, "I wish my daughter should pass secondary school certificate examination, learn typing and become a clerk in some government office. I don't want her to do household jobs like I do". Rupabai wept while telling us how frustrated she felt when her son fell sick and could not complete his education. These women worry over finding a suitable match for their daughters but at the same time personal experiences have taught them how woman ought to be more equipped to lead a lone life without man. They are more eager to educate their daughterr than their sons. Anasuyabai said, "Woman is more reliable. So I have more hopes about my daughters".

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E. Employment

Lack of education results into a lack of special skill and lowers the employment potential. These women come to the city for employment as paupers, bringing nothing from the native place. Jobs available to them are only the marginal ones. They are generally employed as coolies on daily wages, as households workers, as midwives in the public and private hospitals, as sweepers in Municipal Corporation or as sack makers. None of these jobs are of a permanent nature. They have no security. They give no benefits like maternity leave, sick leave, paid holidays, etc. Everyday it is a race to keep the job. Subhadrabai, who is stitching sacks for last twenty seven years, said, "If you are sick and can't go to work you lose your wages .... In twenty seven years I have earned nothing but few good friends on the job. Don't you think Government ought to do something about us?" she asked. The same is the case with Anasuyabai who is a sweeper in Municipal Corporation.

> "I am in this job for last thirty years but still I am not permanent. I am a temporary worker. For a temporary worker there are no extra benefits except the daily wages. My job timings are six a.m. to ten a.m. Everyday I have to go to the central office of Corporation and wait to see if I have a job today. If there is none you come home. It is very uncertain. Whether you get the job or not depends upon the wishes of the supervisor. This is how, in fact, I came in contact with the supervisor, my children's father. Because of the uncertainity of this job, in the afternoons, I started working as a coolie."

Krishnabai said:

> "Doing house maids' job is not so easy. You don't require any skill alright, but it is quite tiring to go from house to house racing with the time to satisfy them. From washing clothes and utensils you get around 25 to 30 rupees per house. One thing is good about this job, kind employers give you food and old clothes and that saves a lot of your money."

There is no weekly holiday, no sick leave but some employers are good enough to grant it. In Pune they have formed an association of maid servants. Krishnabai is not a member of that association but hoped that they would bring some benefits to her lot.

Rupabai was a self-employed person but there were obvious limits to her earnings because of her lack of insight into doing a business. She had no funds to invest and her capacity to carry the weight of fruit and vegetable basket was limited. Also, perishable goods which she sold gave her very little profit margin. She said, "The worst part in the business is that you are suspicious of every customer and so you start cheating every one. Woman becomes a very untrust-worthy person that way".

/The

The only one who did a skilled job was Seetabai. Brahmin women are traditionally known as good cooks. So her traditional feminine skill came to her rescue when she came to the city. Cooking being a skilled job gave her more bargaining power than the other women. But, in that business too, there is discrimination. Men cooks get bigger contracts and more wages than the women cooks.

Thus, this micro study of our supports the findings of G. Parthasarathy that: (a) in every caste group poorest of the poor would be the female-heads-of-households and (b) the occupational structure of female-headed-households showed that wage paid labour was the major source of income for them.

F. Saving system

Another very interesting aspect came out of this micro study was the saving system of these women. They belonged to different castes and did different jobs. But all saved some little amount in an informal networking called 'Bhishi'. 'Bhishi' is an informal group invariably run by women where a small fixed amount is saved every week or every month and once a month a name of a member is drawn by lots who gets the total amount without interests. 'Bhishi' is run completely on trust. Neither are there written accounts kept nor does any one get a receipt for the share. Women reported no instance of cheating. For little educated women it is very easy to manage it because nothing is in writing. 'Bhishi' groups being informal groups develop their own support systems and co-operation. It would be worthwhile to further study these informal support systems and the role they play in the lives of women-heads-of-households.

G. Family responsibility

From childhood, girl is taught to obey and not to question or make independent decision because that goes contrary to her wife role which she is to play in the future. But, when because of the absence of male in the family, she is suddenly placed in a head's position, it's a traumatic experience for her. She has to work harder to support her family, decide for her children's future, protect herself from the evil eyes of men and suddenly, to do all those things which neither had she done in the past nor was she prepared to do in future. She experiences a complete discontinuity in her life. Rupabai said:

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> "In the village, it is very difficult to suddenly take up the man's role. If a woman wants to cultivate her piece of land or wants wages to be increased or to make any official enquiry, she has to talk to men which she has never done before. She cannot argue. She cannot bargain .... All these days you have never come out in the open to talk to any man except your father, brother or husband and that too occasionally, how can you suddenly lift your eyes and start discussing anything with a man?"

Seetabai said, "You don't understand the law so when your own relatives cheat you, you simply walk out of the house and keep quiet".

Marriage, being an arranged one, with the loss of the spouse, women rarely experience an emotional loss. Loss is mainly in terms of loss of status which creates practical problems. It is a masculine virtue if the man beats his wife; it is a feminine quality if she suffers it silently. That being the traditional stereotype, a woman rarely feels strong and happy with the man in her life though she may feel secure. That may be the reason why these women don't feel like having another husband in their life. Krishnabai says, "Had he been there, arranging my daughters marriage would have been easier but, in a way, I am glad that there is no one to question me all the time on every little thing I did". Anasuyabai was bold enough to say that "I needed a man but not a husband. I know from what I see around that husbands don't make wives happy". Seetabai - the Brahmin lady, said, "You need a husband to give you name - and a child. Once you get that, what's the use of having an irresponsible man in your life". So the problem is the loss of status and not an emotional loss.

With their lot of hard work in everyday life, always earning less than a man, the constant suppression that they have with or without man, women seem ambivalent about the man's role in their life. They don't want a man in the role of a husband in their life but secretly they all look forward to their son or grand son or son-in-law taking up the responsibility they are sharing presently.

Thus, women-headed-households are nuclear families with the role of the provider and that of the nurturer merging into one, leaving woman with a double responsibility which is never justly rewarded by the society. Her only reward is the respect that she earns as a mother. Anasuyabai, who has children without a husband, is respected as a good mother. Structural changes in the family thus are showing signs of a changing value system. Growing number of female-headed-households are bound to bring about value changes as they are changing the roles and functions of women.

/III.

III. National scene

A. The National Committee on the Status of Women 1975

Today its a very complex situation in India. Amidst the glaring poverty and illiteracy government and other enlightened groups are working hard to modernise the society. It is being attempted through the spread of education, by introducing improved means of production and better health services and thereby improving the whole standard of life. Efforts are being made to involve women in this process of modernisation. There exists equality before law. Mass communication media - T.V. and radio are exposing women to a whole lot of new information and arousing their consciousness. But, as the National Committee on the Status of Women in India (1975), described, "We also found a wide gap between the stated social objectives and achievements, between the legal framework and empirical realities, between symbolism and actuality".[10] So, on the other hand, there is a stronghold of deep rooted tradition, of male domination which is the strong constraining factor. Though untouchability is abolished by law, as stated earlier, caste is very much a part of Indian consciousness. Uneven distribution and utilization of economic resources make single-women-heads-of-household most vulnerable and further widen the sex inequality. The picture emerging out of the interaction of these contradictory forces is a very disturbing picture. It was the National Committee on the Status of Women in India (1975) which proved to be an eye opener for educators, planners and policy makers regarding the degrading status of women in the country. In fact, the sex ratio of 930 women to 1000 men was enough of an indicator of the sub-human conditions in which women are living.

On the one hand, as M.S. Swaminathan member of Planning Commission, says these women whom the formal system has failed to educate, in one word, (are) the poor.

> "But to classify them further, they are the people for whom economic necessity determines the pattern of life, for whom time is too precious a commodity in terms of money to be wasted within the four walls of school. These are the vast numbers of women in the unorganised sector - farm labours and small peasant women working on their own family land or hiring themselves out with their men as labour, women working in construction, mines, quarries and railways carrying heavy loads; women working all day at cottage industries like making bidis, matches, laces, chikan* and other produce to market, women gathering, processing, selling forest products. In 25% of families in poverty, women are sole or chief bread winners." 11

/Their

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* Chikan: a kind of embroidery.

Their number is fast growing as the migration is on the increase. On the other hand, the National Committee on the Status of Women tells us, that "a macro-analysis reveals that women's economic participation has been declining since 1921, both in percentage of workers to total female population and in their percentage to the total labour force".[12] Reasons attributed for this state of affairs are threefold: (1) lack of employment opportunities due to illiteracy, absence of any skill and restricted mobility: (2) labour laws which provide more protection to women but discourage employers to employ them; (3) traditional definition of the 'bread-winner' which excludes women from this category and therefore skips policy maker's due attention to the problem.

This particular problem of the declining number of the total women work force and increasing number of women-headed-households needs to be taken more cognizance by the planners and policy makers to radically change some of their basic assumption regarding the developmental needs of women.

B. Sixth Five Year Plan

Inclusion of a special chapter on "Women and Development" for the first time in the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) marks the beginning of this recognition on the part of the Government of India of the special needs of women.

The Sixth Plan document states "excessive mortality in female children resulting in persistent decline in sex ratio, low rate of literacy and low economic status stress the need for greater attention to the economic emancipation of women".[13] The Plan document further states that

> "the major thrust of the Sixth Plan in the field of welfare of women is their economic upliftment through greater opportunities for salaried, self and wage employment. For this purpose, appropriate technologies, services and public policies will be introduced. The technological package will include imparting new skills and upgrading existing skills. The service package will pay attention to training and credit needs and to marketing. The public policy package will include measures in the area of ownership rights, enforcement of wage laws and employment impact assessment with reference to the employment of women in development projects .... However, the improvements in the socio-economic status of women would depend to a large extent on the social change in the value system, attitudes and social structures prevailing in the country."

However, even the Sixth Five Year Plan does not make any special provisions for women-headed-households.

/Broadly

Broadly speaking, single-women-head-of-household form a part of the total problem of women. Only the partial solution lies in creating special welfare services for these women. Creche service needs to be expanded, paid holidays and sick leave need to be made applicable to the unorganised sectors too. As Swaminathan says, a revolutionary and really just solution would be to create part-time employment opportunities for them but to give full pay considering the full responsibility that they have to shoulder of the family in the absence of man. But the real and long term solution lies in giving women a sense of self-worth and some skill which would fetch them decent life. Creating different opportunities or making legislation to give protection to women does not solve the real problem. Services, opportunities remain unutilised or underutilised and rarely do women make efforts to establish legal rights. Unless and until women's self-image changes from "Suffering Seeta"[14] to that of a "fighting Zansiki Rani Laxmibai"[15] no equality will ever be established. Change in the image will come about through education and through training of new skills whereby women will be able to be the part of total modernisation process and will be proud in making a vital contribution to it. However, it is not just the question of changing women's image but it is a question of changing the perception of both men and women towards each other. Innovative courses have to be devised where men and women will not only learn literacy but get modern, scientific knowledge, acquire relevant skills and built new attitudes towards each other.

IV. Profiles

1. Krishnabai Gole

Krishnabai Gole is a widow with two daughters. She is 45 years old and Maratha by caste. She was born in a small village not very far from Pune. Her parents were landless labourers. When Krishnabai was about five the family migrated to Pune. Her father did not get any permanant job and had to work as a manual labourer. Her father and mother were born uneducated. Krishnabai had one sister and one brother. All the three children went to school and passed middle school certificate examination. Her brother then became mentally ill and got lost. No efforts were made to find him. Her father also was not a responsible type. Sometimes he would disappear for weeks and would not give any money to the mother. Her mother worked as a maid servant and washed clothes and utensils and earned to support the family. Krishnabai says, "In fact, it was our mother who supported us and not our father. As a child I used to go to help my mother in her paid work."

/After

After marriage she continued doing that and added to her family income. Her husband was a mill worker who died of road accident after living four years of married life, leaving two daughters behind. Krishnabai's parents died soon after his death. Thereafter, she found it hard to stay in that locality which mostly belonged to the middle class residents. She shifted to a poorer area to a broken hut which she hired for a small rent. With the help of an acquaintance she found a job in an embroidery factory which lasted only couple of years. It was a small factory. All the workers were women. She enjoyed this job. Though it did not pay well, she thought, for an educated lady like her and one coming from a higher caste, it is more dignified to work in a factory than to work as a maid. But when all the women workers decided to go on strike for increasing wages, paid holidays and medical leave, etc., she joined them with the result that all the workers were relieved from the job with immediate effect. She went to the employer requesting him to re-employ her but he refused. Krishnabai had to find household jobs again.

Both her daughters go to Municipal Schools where she doesn't have to bear any educational expenses. The eldest daughter is fifteen now and Krishnabai is worried about getting good marriage proposals for her. In their community proposals come from the boy's side. But no proposals have come so far. Krishnabai says:

> "Who will bring good proposals for my daughter when they know that I cannot pay good dowry? When there is no man in the family it is very difficult for a woman to get her daughter married. She cannot go out and hunt for good boys. If there had been a man in the house we would not have remained so poor. After all, a man always earns more than a woman even though she works equally hard. If there is a man in the family he gets loan easily while they don't give it to a single woman. They think man can repay it but not a woman. A single woman's life is considered very uncertain."

When asked as to why Krishnabai didn't marry again after the death of her husband, she said, "For one thing, it is not considered good in our caste and, secondly, there is no guarantee that marriage will bring any security and happiness. And who would look after my daughters? So why get into it again?" How are her relations with the neighbours? Krishnabai says:

> "For a single woman it is always better to live aloof otherwise they suspect about your character and once if any woman gets a bad name it is very hard for her children especially her daughters. So I don't mix with any neighbours. Besides most of them belong to the lower caste, I don't eat or drink at their place, so I have no friends in any neighbourhood."

/Has

Has she been saving for her daughter's marriage? 'Saving! from what I get I barely am able to meet the two ends meet. I have a 'bhishi' of a very small amount. But it all goes into either house repairing during rainy season, or for medicines and such other things". (Krishnabai's monthly earnings are around 200 to 250 Rs).* "I wish my daughter completes her secondary school education, gets a job and saves for her marriage". Right now, Krishnabai has no time to think of her old age, she has enough to brood over her daughter's marriage.

2. Subhadra Deshmane

Subhadra Deshmane, aged 48, Maratha, deserted her husband a few days after marriage when she was barely fifteen. Her father was a farmer. Subhadra was born and brought up in a small village. She never went to school so she doesn't know how to read and write. She had one sister and a brother. Subhadra was married off when she was fourteen. Her husband was much older than her and had another woman. After marriage he ill-treated Subhadra, wanted her to stay as a servant in the house. Subhadra tolerated it for sometime but later when beatings became unbearable she returned to her parents never to go back to him.

Her parents allowed her to stay with them but her brother was not very happy. Subhadra sensed that and decided to work hard on the farm and legitimately earn her bread. Her brother kept a close eye on her and would get cross even when she casually talked to a man. Once he accused her openly of being a flirt, threatened to beat her if she continued with her practice. Subhadra said she was completely innocent. But being quite stubborn by nature she could not tolerate this insult. She took a vow to lure a man and go away with him to take revenge upon her brother.

She was successful in eloping with a man to Pune. She found a job in stitching sacks by hand which she is doing up till now. He worked as a manual labourer. Subhadra had one miscarriage in the first year of their stay. Later he got attracted to another woman. Subhadra came to know about it and took initiative in getting them married. She said:

> "After one miscarriage I thought I can no longer conceive or, if I do, the unfortunate incident may repeat and I know from my own feelings how sad it is to live without an issue so I wanted that man to be happy. Also I was independent. I did not have to worry for food so I felt relieved, when I got him married to the woman he liked."

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* Rupees: approximately ten rupees to a US dollar.

After his marriage she felt lonely and craved for a family but she no more wanted a man in her life as a husband or as a lover. She revived her contacts with her widowed sister, treated her neighbour's daughter as her own child. When her sister fell sick she brought her to Pune and took good care of her in her last days. Her sister died of cancer leaving her son to Subhadra whom Subhadra looks after as her own child now. He is fourteen and schooling. Couple of years ago Subhadra came in contact with a young man fifteen years younger to her in need of a place to stay. She keeps him in her house and calls him her brother. Subhadra said, "People think that a woman needs a man to take care of her. It is a wrong belief. She may need a man but it is not always true that he takes care of her. In my own case I have been taking care of and supporting the men with whom I came in contact."

Subhadra is an active member of a labour union - Hamal Panchayat. Neither her union nor the Government is able to give any protection to single women like her. They ought to do something about it she felt. She is working in stitching sacks for the last twenty seven years. There are no benefits for maternity, sick leave, paid holidays, nothing. Her monthly earnings are about 250 to 300 rupees. She displayed her hands which have become very hard and coarse through stitching sacks for so many years.

Subhadra's father had some land. When asked whether she has no share in her father's property? She answered by a question, "Do you think I can afford to go to court to establish my right?" Is she depending upon her sister's son for taking care of her in her old age? She replied life has taught her not to depend on any one but she is saving a little amount by putting some amount in Bhishi for her future and basically she is not afraid of her future. She is happy in her present family consisting of: an adopted daughter, an adopted son and an adopted brother.

3. Rupabai Landge

Rupabai is a widow between the ages of 50 to 55. She is completely illiterate, has one son who is married and has a child. She belongs to the Mahar caste. She had lost her father when she was very small. She had one sister and two brothers. They were a joint family, including four uncles all staying together. They were all landless labourers and Rupabai's mother had a hard time not to be a burden on her brother-in-laws.

/Rupabai

Rupabai got married when she was still a child. Her husband was the only son of her mother-in-law also a widow. Her husband and his mother both worked as agricultural labourers. After reaching puberty in a year's time she bore a son. Her husband then died of some disease which she could not name when her son was only few months old. Rupabai's mother-in-law could not tolerate her son's death and thought that Rupabai's misfortune was the cause of her son's death. She therefore treated her very badly. After her son's death she did not keep good health, so Rupabai became the only earning member of the family. She also worked as an agricultural labourer.

Her mother-in-law was constantly worried that being such a young widow and, that too from a lower caste, people may harass her. Rupabai says she never experienced any such harrassment, in fact, she was more tortured by her mother-in-law than by anybody else. When her son was ten the mother-in-law died.

Rupabai was very keen about her son's education. She wanted him to become a school teacher. He was good at studies. He passed the secondary school cirtificate examination with good marks. Rupabai asked him to join the teachers training course but he wanted to go to college and become a graduate. Being a boy from the scheduled caste he got free education and some additional assistance from the Government for his logging and boarding. There was no college in the village so he had to go to a nearby town and stay in a hostel. Rupabai stayed alone in the village and worked hard to send money to her son to meet his other requirements like clothes, books for his extra reading, etc. He completed two years of junior college and then fell sick. He caught tuberculosis and had to leave his education. A doctor in the village said that her son would have to go to a city to get better treatment and it would require a lot of money. Rupabai then decided to go to Pune for her son's treatment. For the first few days they lived like beggars staying on the foot-path. Then they got a hut on rent. She spent all her savings on his treatment and for the hut. She started working as a coolie in the city market. Out of the money she earned the major part went into her son's treatment and she saved a small portion. From her savings she started a small business selling bananas and some vegetables. Her earnings were around Rs 250 per month. Although her son got completely cured he remained an invalid for almost five years. Even today he is not completely healthy. It took him another five years to get a full time job in a private workshop to support the family substantially. He is now earning about Rs 400/ - per month. Rupabai then went to her village and found a suitable girl from relations and got her son married. The girl is much younger to her son and obedient "because she comes from village", Rupabai said.

/This

This year Rupabai got a grand daughter and has stopped selling bananas. Now she looks after the baby and wants to rest. Rupabai says, even though everything is very expensive and one cannot live very comfortably on one person's income, greed never ends and so one should stop somewhere. So she has decided to manage within her son's income now. Finally, she said, he is now in fact the head of the family. But if by head of the household we mean the decision maker then it is she who takes decisions in the family.

4. Anasuyabai Pawar

Anasuyabai, aged 50, belongs to the Buddhist community formerly to the untouchable caste, Mahar. She doesn't know from where her grand parents migrated to Pune. She was married at 16, stayed with the husband only for a month and when he ill-treated her she left him and came back. For last thirty years she is working as a sweeper in the Pune Municipal Corporation. She is a temporary worker with no additional benefits except the daily wages. Anasuyabai had parents, four brothers and two sisters in her family. Her father worked as an assistant to a mason. Mother also worked as a casual labourer. Money that they earned was never sufficient to feed so many mouths and from very early childhood children were instructed to earn food for their own bellies. All the children worked as coolies. If they didn't get work they would beg, borrow or steal. Anasuyabai said, "As far back as I can remember I am earning my own bread. I did that when I lived with my parents, my husband and now with my children, no one has ever fed me". Anasuyabai is completely illiterate. After Anasuyabai returned to her parents they allowed her to stay with them but asked her to earn her own bread.

When Anasuyabai took up a temporary job as a sweeper at Pune Municipal Corporation, in the evenings she started working as a coolie. At work, she developed good relations with the supervisor. He was a married man but Anasuyabai got involved with him. "I didn't want a husband for I was so independent but I needed a man. So I kept relations with him". He belonged to a higher caste. When she developed relations with this man she looked for an independent place. She found a hut not very far from her parents place. This man used to visit her but never stayed with her. "How would he? He had a family. And I never wanted a husband. I liked to stay independent". Anasuyabai has three children from him. She has reared the children completely on her own. He is their father for names sake. They know who their father is but feel no affinity for him. After her third son was born that man took to drinking which Anasuyabai didn't like so she severed relations with him.

/After

After some days another man came into her life. He cared for her children and won her heart. She has one daughter from him. He also started drinking and she left him too. The last daughter is now twelve.

Anasuyabai wants her children to get to a good education. She feels if she had been educated she would have lived a much richer life. Her eldest daughter has passed the secondary school certificate examination and has taken the Government diploma in sewing.

After passing S.S.C,[16] when a marriage proposal came for her, Anasuyabai explained to the boy that her daughter is an illegitimate child. His parents lived in a village so he found it easy to make his own choice and accepted her daughter. After marriage they lived happily for four years. Then he died of road accident. So now the girl is staying with her as a widow with two small children.

Anasuyabai says, courage, education and financial security are a must for a single woman then she can live life with self-respect. Education she did not have but the other two qualities she developed in a studied manner. As for financial security, Anasuyabai from the beginning kept saving in 'Bhishi'. Almost one third of her earnings are saved every month. She has carefully invested her saving. Outside her hut she has opened a small shop where she sells 'pan'[17] cigarettes, bidis,[18] biscuits, chocolates etc. She has a regular business of rearing goats and selling lambs. She keeps a few hens and she sells eggs. She has built a floor and given it on rent. All this fetches her about Rs 700/- to Rs 800/- per month. She says she will correct the mistake she made with her eldest daughter. She wouldn't marry off the youngest one so soon, she wants to send her for higher education. When she was young, people in the neighbourhood did trouble her because there was no man in the house but she faced it very courageously. There was no support from other relatives. All her brothers died young. She could stand the harrassment from the people because of the conviction that she has not done anything wrong. "I did not sell my body. I did have relations with men outside marriage but I took responsibility for this relationship. I took good care of my children". Now she wants to get her widowed daughter married. She is ready to take care of her grand children. She is saving money for them now.

5. Seetabai Bhide

Seetabai is a Brahmin widow of seventy five. She was born and brought up in a small village on the western coast of India. Her father was a priest in the village. The atmosphere at home was very orthodox. Theirs was the only Brahmin family in the village and hence girls were never allowed to cross the threshold of the house. Girls never went to school. Seetabai after her marriage learned to read and write on her own initiative from her brother-in-laws who were schooling then. Seetabai had one sister and one brother. Her brother was mentally sick. When he was about twenty five he disappeared and never came back. Her sister came back as a widow with her twelve children. Her father found it too hard to feed so many mouths. When the sister's mother-in-law died the father-in-law took her back again because they needed a cook.

Seetabai was married off in the neighbouring village when she was fifteen. Her husband was the eldest among three brothers and two sisters. Their mother had died one year back and so Seetabai had to take the responsibility of the family as the eldest woman in the house. Her husband was thirty years older to her and sick. One year after her marriage Seetabai gave birth to a daughter. When her daughter was a few months old her husband died. They had a piece of land. As Brahmins they employed lower caste labour to work on the farm. After the death of her husband she started supervising the agricultural work. This worked for about ten years. By then her brother-in-laws grew up, got married and then their behaviour changed. Their wives started treating her as their servant. Seetabai could not tolerate this insult. She took her daughter, a child of eleven years, and came to Pune.

In Pune she stayed with a distant relative for few days and then found a job as a cook in a rich Brahmin family. This was a residental job with food and salary of Rs 50/- a month. Her daughter used to assist her in her job. She stayed there for about six years. Seetabai said her employer was a good and kind lady. She looked after her daughter's needs too. When her daughter became seventeen she wanted to get her married so she left her residential job, found a room and started doing cooking jobs on special orders. She specialised in cooking sweets which required a lot of skill and earned good money. Through an acquaintance she got her daughter married to a man who also worked as a cook. Three months after marriage they realised that the husband was a chronic mental patient.

/He

He used to get violent attacks every three to four months and had to be hospitalised for few days. This time he had to be hospitalised for one full year. Seetabai brought her daughter back. Her daughter started assisting the mother and later started taking independent cooking orders. When her husband came out of the hospital Seetabai took another adjoining room on rent and arranged a home for her daughter. Apart from his mental disturbances, he was otherwise a somber man, so Seetabai's daughter made up her mind to adjust living with her husband. He is treated as an invalid and the sole earning responsibility lies on the mother and the daughter. Seetabai's daughter has three children now: two sons and a daughter. On and off her husband gets mentally disturbed, then he is sent to the mental hospital. Upon return he is treated as a normal family member. The whole family has adjusted to this way of life.

Seetabai arranged her grand daughter's marriage two years ago and was very happy with her grand son-in-law. She felt here was a man now to relieve her of her responsibility. But their misfortune had not ended. The young man died of an accident while returning from the factory work at night and the grand-daughter has come back with her two month old son. She is staying with her child in Seetabai's room.

Seetabai at seventy five has once again decided to work hard for the grand daughter and her child and has no time to think of retirement. Orders for cooking keep pouring, especially during festivals, when Seetabai has to refuse some of those for want of time. Seetabai says, "If you have skill, you will never be short of money". She says, "Let my grand sons get little older then I can rest". Until then, she has to run barefoot from house to house making sweets.

V. Conclusion

Women-headed-households deserve special attention not in terms of introducing new welfare measures but in needed basic attitudinal changes on the part of both man and woman. Women, who share double responsibility of rearing children and earning daily bread, are more than equal to men. They deserve, as a matter of right, more opportunities to develop their own potential and to learn such skills, which will bring them to a more decent life. In a male dominated society the value given to a man's role in a woman's life makes her lose status in his absence. It is hoped that women-headed-households, more than any other family type would impel society to change the value placed on gender for that of upholding the ultimate value of the human dignity of a person.

/Notes

Notes and references

2. Suffering Seeta: Seeta is a heroine of the great epic Ramayana. She was a wife of Rama the prince of Ayodya. When Rama was asked by his father to leave the throne and go to the forest, Seeta with her husband, stayed, in the forest and never complained about the hardships. Later when she was forcefully taken away by a demon Rawana, she stayed in his prison waiting for Rama to rescue her for many years. When she was rescued she had to do penance by getting into the fire to prove her chastity. Even after proving it when people started doubting her purity Rama sent her away to the forest and deserted her. She gave birth to twins in the forest and reared them who were later accepted by Rama as his children. Seeta is an incarnation of silent suffering. Image of a Seeta as a silent suffering has deep impact on Indian mind. She is considered a model for every woman to follow.

3. Shakti: Shakti is a Sanskrit word for power or energy. According to Vedas - the oldest Hindu scriptures - the essence of woman is energy principle which preserves the human species.

4. Pramila Dandavate M.P.: Women's movement in India. Lecture delivered at Pune on the 17th Sept '83 at Women's Liberation award giving function by Sardar Kirad Trust.

5. G. Parthasarthy: "Rural Poverty and female heads of households - need for quantitative analysis".
Technical Seminar on Women's work and Employment organised by the Indian Social Studies Trust (April 1982)

6. Mayra Buvinic and Nadia Youssef Barbara Van Elm. "Women headed households: The ignored factor in development planning".
Agency for International Development, Washington 1978.

7. Devaki Jain. "Indian Women: Today and tomorrow" Padmaja Naidu Memorial Lecture 1982.

8. Maithreyi Krishna Raj and Jyoti Rahdive 1975. The Rural female - heads of households - Hidden from the view. 1982.
Research Unit on Women's Studies.

9. Caste: Caste system is an integral part of Indian Society. Traditionally caste groups are arranged in a hierarchical order, they follow hereditary occupation and they are endagamous groups. Today, industrialisation and urbanisation has brought about many changes in the caste system.

   Brahmin: Brahmins stand on the highest step of the caste ladder. Traditionally they were supposed to be the priests.

   Maratha: Marathas stand second in the heirarchy in the State of Maharashtra. They considered themselves as warror caste. They were also engaged in agriculture.

/Mahar.

Mahar. Mahar is a "scheduled" caste in Maharashtra. "Scheduled" castes are the backward castes identified by the Government as such and listed them in a separate schedule in the Indian constitution to give them special services for their upliftment. Maharas were the messengers in the traditional village system. Due to Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar, a great reformer among them, today they are the most progressive castes among the scheduled castes. As a protest to the injustice done to them by the higher castes for centuries together under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar some of them got themselves converted to Buddhism in 1956.

10. Status of Women in India. The report of the National Committee on the Status of Women in India.

11. M. Swaminathan: "Women and Rural Development". J.P. Naik Memorial Lecture, Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi 1982.

12. Op. cit. No. 10, p. 21.

13. Sixth Five Year Plan: 1980-85: Government of India Planning Commission.

14. Op. cit. No. 2, p. 22.

15. Zansiki Rani Laxmibai: Laxmibai Brahmin by caste was a queen of Zansi, a princely state in India in the last Century. She was a widow and wanted to rule by her adopted son's name. British rulers wanted to subjugate the state under the pretext of not having any heir to the throne. Rani Laxmibai wanted to keep the state independent so at a young age of 24 she joined the mutiny of 1857 and fought very bravely. She died in war while protecting the freedom of her motherland. She is a model of great courage and love of independence. Her image is opposite that of Seeta who suffered silently.

16. S.S.C. is Secondary School Certificate examination which is passed after tenth standard.

17. Pan: Betel leaf which is chewed like tobacco.

18. Bidis: local cigarette.

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10 November 1983

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Expert Group Meeting on Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women

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YOUNG WOMEN IN INDUSTRY (MANUFACTURING, ENTERTAINMENT AND SERVICE SECTORS, INCLUDING DOMESTIC SERVICE, AND OTHER INFORMAL SECTORS)

(Item 5 (c) of the provisional agenda)

PHILIPPINE WOMEN IN THE SERVICE AND ENTERTAINMENT SECTORS

Paper prepared by Sister Mary Soledad Perpinan, RGS, Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women, P.O. Box SM-366, Manila, Philippines.

This paper has not been formally edited. The views expressed in it are those of the author and do not reflect those of the United Nations.

To have a substantial understanding of women in any sector, it is important to contextualize the sector against a more holistic background as well as to particularize certain aspects of the sector in more concrete and current terms.

Thus a study of Philippine women in the service and entertainment sector necessitates a general understanding of women in Philippine society and their place in the labour force as well as a more specific tackling of empirical data to serve as a solid basis for programming an effective course of action.

By way of introduction, a historico-cultural backgrounder will first be given. The main text will cover an overview of the service sector with case studies of teachers, nurses and domestic helpers, and a more detailed treatment of the entertainment sector using recent studies such as the 1982-1983 survey of 614 prostitutes undertaken by the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women.

The conclusion will sum up general observations, analyse findings, and present implications for action if genuine change is truly desired.

Women in Philippine Society

The Filipina today is a product of many strains. In the hinterlands there still exist indigenous tribes carrying over down the centuries an egalitarian role and even a matriarchal dominance of the female members.

Although women of the populated lowlands also continue to enjoy a special respect and position in the family, they nonetheless have fallen prey to the subjugating influence of feudalism and/or chauvinism associated certain religious precepts and practices.

Transformed into objects of pleasure, an appendage to property, a gauge to social status, women have further been affected by the patriarchal ideology rooted in the prevailing socio-economic system of the country. Given stereotyped roles that capitalize on assigned virtues of docility, patience, and subservience, Filipinas, like women in the Third World in general, are taken advantage of by profit-hungry entrepreneurs and their cohorts.

The Filipina today shares the double exploitation of her lot: first as a member of a developing country in the clutches of neocolonialism and second, as a woman who is further victimized because of her sex.

/It

It is heartening, however, that many Filipinas have joined the ranks of those who question the system and struggle to break free from its oppressive fetters.

Philippine Women in the Labour Force

Based on the 1980 Census, the projected Philippine population for 1983 in 51,956,071 of which 26,080,674 or 50.2 per cent are male and 25,875,397 or 49.8 per cent are female.

As of the first quarter of 1983, the following estimates were given by the Household Survey Division of the National Census and Statistics Office.

Total population of 15 years old and over:		31,211,000
Male:	15,430,000	
Female:	15,781,000	
Labour Force:		19,408,000
Male:	12,202,000	
Female:	7,206,000	
Employed:		18,254,000
Male:	11,667,000	
Female:	6,587,000	
Unemployed:		1,154,000
Male:	535,000	
Female:	619,000	
Not in the Labour Force:		8,803,000
Male:	3,228,000	
Female:	8,575,000	

The labour force is officially defined as those 15 years and above who are employed as well as those who are looking for work on a full-time basis. This does not include the underemployed and the disguisedly employed. Some six million housewives are thus excluded. Therefore, the actual productive force of women is not properly reflected. In reality the true labour force is greater in number.

According to the 1983 estimates, for every 100 females only 46 are part of the labour force and for every 100 females in the labour force, 95 are actually employed.

A critical estimation of unemployment, however, shows that for both sexes more than 6 per cent have employment problems. Altogether the unemployed, underemployed, and disguisedly employed would make up at least 35 per cent of the labour force.

/Computations

Computations using 1978 third quarter data reveal that:

* Women compose 40 per cent of urban workers and 33 per cent of rural workers.

* Actual employment of women averages only 35 per cent.

* For every 100 employed women, 43 are wage/salary workers; 27 are own account workers; and 30 are unpaid family workers.

* For every 100 wage and salary workers, 74 are in private establishments, 2 have their own family enterprises, and 24 work for the government.

* Out of every 100 females employed, 38 are in agriculture, 19 in sales, 14 in production, 13 in services, 10 in profession jobs, 6 in clerical work. Only one out of 250 is in an executive position.

Female workers like their male counterpart are also compelled to seek greener pastures in foreign lands. Here is the distribution of newly processed land based contract workers from January to June 1983:

* There are far more female entertainers, 6,041 (92 per cent), than male, only 522 (8 per cent).

* Half of the service workers are men (8,996) and half are women (8,978).

* Slightly more than a third of sales workers are women (310 or 34 per cent against 595 men or 66 per cent).

* Clerical workers are 10 per cent female (380) and 90 per cent male (3,564).

* Professional, technical, and related workers have 4,359 men (55 per cent) and 3,625 women (45 per cent).

* Practically all production labourers are male (89,098 or 99.7 per cent against 307 female or 0.3 per cent).

* There is no female migrant among the 939 agricultural workers.

An Overview of the Service Sector

Of all sectors of the economy, the service sector contributes most to the nation's coffers.

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The total value of the service they performed in 1982 is estimated at ₱ 141.293 billion* as of April 1983. This is 41.56 per cent of the gross domestic product, which is ₱ 340.443 billion at market prices. The other sectors contributed less: agriculture - ₱ 76.181 billion (22 per cent) and industry - ₱ 122.696 billion (36 per cent).

The gross value added in services by industry group for 1982 at current prices is as follows (in billion pesos):

Government service	16.389
Private sector	21.031
Educational	2.198
Medical and Health	3.969
Business	2.651
Recreational	1.721
Personal	2.672
Hotel and Restaurants	4.532
Others	3.333
Services	37.420

The service sector in contrast to the agricultural and industrial sectors does not create goods but performs services. Without the service workers, however, the products of farmers, fishermen, miners, factory workers, construction workers and those in public utilities cannot reach the consumers.

Among the service workers are the transport and communication workers, the workers in trading and financial establishments, the workers in recreation, business, and community services, including government.

According to the occupation groupings of the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA), service workers include managers and working proprietors of catering and lodging services, housekeeping supervisors, cooks, waiters, bartenders, household helpers, hotel and restaurant helpers, building caretakers, cleaners, launderers, dry cleaners, pressers, hairdressers, barbers, beauticians, protective service workers like the firefighters, policemen and detectives, tourist guides, hospitality girls, ushers, undertakers and embalmers, medical aids, and other related workers. The number of people employed as service workers as of the first quarter, 1983, was 1,492,000.

Taken in a wider sense, the service sector also includes 1.353 million professional, technical and related workers; 210,000 administrative, executive and realted workers; 885,000 clerical workers; and 1.931 million sales workers

/(preliminary

* Foreign exchange rate as of September 1983: $US 1 = ₱ 11.00.

(preliminary estimates of NCSO, first quarter, 1983). The number employed in the service sector would then swell to 5,871,000, 32 per cent of employed persons in the Philippines. In addition, there are the unemployed, under-employed and unpaid workers whose capacity to contribute to the country's economy is awaiting recognition and actualization as part of the labour force.

The 1983 statistics do not give a breakdown according to sexes. To give an idea of how women relate to men in the service sector, here are percentages computed from 1978 third quarter data from the Labour Statistics Office, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Women make up 59 per cent of professional, technical and related workers; 18 per cent of administrative, executive and managerial workers; 54 per cent of clerical workers; 65 per cent of sales workers; 57 per cent of service workers (see NEDA groupings).

All in all more than one-half (57 per cent) in the service sector are women. It is revealing to note the evidence of sexual discrimination in the fact that women are more numerous in occupations of servitude but not in administrative posts, a low 18 per cent.

Although both men and women in the Philippines are poorly paid, female workers have the worse deal. For every peso paid to a Filipino worker, only 35 centavos go to a woman worker. Female service workers in 1977 received an average weekly earning of ₱ 129 against ₱ 295 that went to male workers, a difference of ₱ 166. Even in sales and clerical jobs where women are reputed to excel, there were remarkable differences in compensation, the female share being 30.4 per cent for sales and 46.3 per cent for clerical work.

To give a more complete picture of the service sector, we shall now take samples of service occupations that are predominantly female before dealing in depth with the entertainment sector.

Teachers

According to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports in its 1982 report, there are a total of 31,729 schools in the country. Of this number, 30,729 (96 per cent) are government schools and 1,168 (4 per cent) are private.

There are 45,893 teachers in the tertiary level; 85,465 in the secondary; and 261,131 in the elementary level. All in all, 392,489 Filipinos are in the teaching profession. It is a known fact that most teachers are women.

The teachers are employed in two general categories: Public (government) or private. Government schools include state colleges and

/universities,

universities, secondary and elementary schools. In private schools, teachers are either in sectarian or non-sectarian schools. Catholic schools dominate the sectarian scene.

The biggest problem of teachers is financial. Filipino teachers are the lowest paid in Asia. An instructor 1 in state colleges and universities like the Philippine Normal College would get ₱ 1,372 (₱ 1,337 in the University of the Philippines, Diliman).

The 1982 survey of the hiring rate of colleges and universities conducted by the Teachers' Centre of the Philippines shows a range of ₱ 8 per hour to ₱ 17.95 per hour in eight private universities. Ateneo University is exceptional; college professors receive from ₱ 2,000 to ₱ 5,000 a month.

High school teachers in public secondary schools of Manila get ₱ 1,343 a month; those in other cities of Metro Manila receive ₱ 1,178 a month. A national teacher of government elementary schools is supposed to get ₱ 870 as basic pay plus ₱ 130 allowance. Most private secondary and elementary teachers receive ₱ 700 as their basic monthly pay plus gross fringe benefits amounting to ₱ 375.

Each month there are legal as well as informal deductions that slash the take-home pay of both public and private school teachers by almost ₱ 200. Legal deductions include GSIS/SSS life insurance, retirement fee, Medicare, withholding tax, Pag-ibig housing fee. Informal deductions would be arbitrary collections for gift-giving to principals and other officials; payment of lost books of students and unsold tickets; contributions for the entertainment of visiting officials; contribution of prizes for school and community contests; in Metro Manila "one day appeal" for government projects--a day's salary in February.

What is brought home can hardly support an individual, much less a family, considering the cost of living, inflation and the deteriorated purchasing power of the peso. To survive and live decently, a teacher in Metro Manila needs at least ₱ 3,000 a month. The present rates are below the poverty line fixed by President Marcos in 1982 at ₱ 1,999.

The very inadequacy of salaries is the reason why few men turn to teaching as a full time profession. The three year study (1981-1983) of the Philippine Association of University Women (PAUW) on the terms and conditions of work of college faculty in private universities in Metro Manila gives this ratio of female teachers to male teachers: 85.5 per cent female as against

14 per cent male. Most of the male professors teach in the evening and work elsewhere in the daytime. They simply cannot live on a college teacher's salary. College faculty members are usually married with an average of three children.

The PAUW study also shows that college teachers actually earn less than the high school or the elementary teachers since they are paid by the hour.

Hiring and promotion procedures, teaching loads, allowances, and benefits are not standardized since eight out of the eleven universities surveyed have no unions. Currently, however, unionizing in private universities is gaining momentum because of the Association of Concerned Teachers (ACT).

There is a growing militancy among government and private teachers. Fighting for their basic human rights, more and more teachers are getting organized, staging strikes and mass leaves, and launching legal battles as never before.

Nurses

Every year thousands graduate from the country's 115 nursing schools and compete for a few vacancies in hospitals. A study of the Philippine Nurses Association states that there are some 200 applicants for every vacant nursing position.

With just a handful of male nurses, estimated at 5 per cent, women once again dominate this service profession. The most numerous among the health personnel, nurses are also the most exploited, shamefully overworked, underpaid and unprotected.

The nursing manpower has a headcount of 140,619 here and abroad as of September 1983, according to the Professional Regulation Commission.

The Ministry of Health says there are 9,772 nurses employed by the government: 7,388 in hospitals, 2,374 in public health, and 15 in the ministry's staff, as of 1982.

The Nurse Manpower Survey of 1980 of 19,183 has as its breakdown: 71 per cent in the nursing service; 6 per cent in nursing education; 23 per cent unemployed or inactive.

Nurses who renewed their licenses in 1978 numbered 34,116 of which 16,240 worked in either government or private hospitals and clinics; 3,000 were in industrial plants, schools and universities; 14,878 were unemployed or not absorbed into gainful employment, according to the Institute of Labour and Manpower Studies.

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That same year, 1978, there were almost as many nurses abroad, estimated at 30,000. By mid-1978, 19,232 nurses migrated to 33 countries.

Percentages of nurses placed by Overseas Employment Development Boards of 1979 are as follows: Middle East - 47.7 per cent; Europe - 37.1 per cent; America - 21.1 per cent; Oceania - 1.7 per cent; Africa 0.7 per cent; Trust Territory - 0.4 per cent; Asia - 0.2 per cent.

More nurses, however, are placed by private recruitment agencies. For 1978-1979, 4,973 nurses passed through them.

Permanent migrants numbering 3,147 were distributed during the period of 1975-1978 as follows: USA - 69.8 per cent; Australia - 29.5 per cent; Canada - 18.8 per cent.

Abroad, nurses can expect to earn a minimum renumeration of $US 625 a month and a maximum of $US 750.

In the Philippines where the workload is heavy and pay is terribly low, nurses concentrate in Greater Manila and other cities and only 27 per cent serve the rest of the country, making the ratio of rural health nurse to population 1:27,000.

Even in the cities, nurses in hospitals have to overstretch themselves. A random survey revealed that one nurse attends to at least 15 and as many as 60 patients. In big hospitals like the National Mental Hospital, the ratio is even more shocking--1:200. Time for each patient ranges from 26 minutes to only six minutes; individual care then is very minimal. In addition to general nursing care, nurses are burdened with recording, charting, carrying out doctor's orders, housekeeping and other services. For them it is a 48 hour week, eight hours beyond what is stipulated by the labour law. As one writer puts it: they lead a "dog's life".

Compensation is deplorable. The position paper of the labour panel at the National Tripartite Conference on Employment and Conditions of Life and Work of Nursing and Other Health Personnel, September 1979, reports that salaries are as low as ₱ 198 a month and are oftentimes delayed from 15 days to two months or more. Daily wages are below the statutory minimum, ₱10 for staff nurses and ₱ 9.50 for nursing attendants. No pay is given for overtime work. Emergency living allowance is only ₱ 135 instead of ₱ 170. The 10 per cent incremental pay for night shift is not implemented. There are no hospitalization benefits and no security of tenure.

Based on the rates fixed by the Office of Compensation and Position Classification, the salaries per month of public health nurses (PHN) are as

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follows: nurse - ₱ 405; PHN in rural health units - ₱ 448; nursing service inspector - ₱ 574; supervising nurse - ₱ 494; nursing consultant - ₱ 1,096.

In 1982 the Ministry of Health proposed to increase the pay of government nurses from ₱ 900 to ₱ 1,477, including allowances. MOH officials hope private hospitals will follow their lead.

The trouble is, even promulgated laws benefitting nurses are not implemented, such as the Philippine Nursing Act of 1979. Out of the National Tripartite on Employment Conditions of Life and Work of Nursing and other Health Personnel in September 1979, nothing much happened. It was supposed to be a vehicle for various measures recommended by the International Labour Organization convention. As of 1982, the only concrete thing to get realized is the provision which states that workers have the right to organize into unions and collectively bargain with the administration. This is being undertaken by the Philippine Nurses Association.

Demostic Helpers

When domestic helpers numbered 500,000 in 1974, the Bureau of Women and Minors stated that 86 per cent were women.

Many rural girls leave their villages to seek domestic jobs in the cities. A study of the Bicol region by Benjamin and Ledivinia Carino cites the following reasons for in-migration: low agricultural productivity, high tenancy rates, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, low incomes, frequent calamities, and commercial bias toward urban jobs. The peak of migration is during months when farm labour is least needed, i.e., May to August, the typhoon season.

Domestic jobs vary from that of a housemaid, full time baby-sitter called "yaya", nursing aid to care for the aged referred to as "mid-wife", laundry woman, and cook.

A maid may be "all around"; she cleans, cooks, launders, baby-sits, working from 5:30 a.m. to 9 p.m. or even later, not less than 13 hours daily. Usually such a maid is needed by middle class couples who have to work and who can afford to pay not higher than ₱ 110.

The other category is a "specialized" maid who attends primarily to only one task: cooking, or baby-sitting, or cleaning, or laundering. Only those in the upper class can afford this arrangement with wages ranging from ₱ 150 to ₱ 600.

If board, lodging, gifts, and medicine were monetized, an "all around" maid would get about ₱ 182.70 a month and a specialized maid would get about ₱ 248. The average pay of ₱ 208.10 is still way below the minimum wage ordained by law. Domestic helpers have no social security, medicare, cost of living allowance, overtime pay, nor even days off.

There are few legal provisions to protect domestic helpers. Not yet passed, a recent Parliamentary Bill 66, amending Presidential Decree 99 of 1973, raises the minimum compensation of maids to ₱ 120 in Metro Manila, ₱ 100 in chartered cities, and ₱ 80 in municipalities.

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A random survey of agencies gives the current wage levels as of September 1983 as shown below.

HIRING RATES IN PESOS

AGENCY	Maids	Baby-sitters	Laundry woman	Cook	Mid-wife
Elga Employment Agency	300	400	300	-	900
Royal Employment Agency	200 to 250	250	250	300 to 600	-
Providential Employment	250	350 to 400	350	400	-
PNL Employment Service	250	400 to 500	300	400	600

Compared to Philippine rates, wages abroad are irresistible baits to leave the country. Take Hong Kong. The minimum salary for domestics in August 1981 was HK$ 1,200 or ₱ 1,764, a month's pay which in many cases is equivalent to a year's work in the Philippines. Even college graduates leave their teaching, nursing, or office jobs to become maids. There are 19,000 female domestic helpers in Hong Kong alone. This is most ironic because once upon a time, the Philippines imported Chinese amahs from Hong Kong; now Filipina amahs get exported to Hong Kong!

The records of January to June 1983 show that female workers, mainly in domestic services, left for the following continents: 4,781 to Asia; 3,699 to the Middle East; 197 to Europe; 195 to the Americas; and 106 to the Trust Territories.

Everything is not rosy for Filipinas abroad. Working hours are just as long and tiring, and even lonely and boring. Living and working conditions are not always ideal and sometimes deplorable. Stipulated benefits are also withheld. Even food is inadequate. Many conflicts arise because of cultural differences, discriminatory practices, miscommunication, economic injustices, and sexual harassment. The domestic helpers are easily victimized because of their ignorance of rights and privileges, their fears and insecurities.

Migrants abroad get little help from the government. Their plight usually falls on deaf ears. A saving grace, however, are non-governmental bodies like the Mission for Filipino Migrant Workers in Hong Kong, the Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers in London and Rome, and Kaibigan in Manila.

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The Entertainment Sector

Entertainment as an occupation grouping falls under "services" taken in the strict sense.

The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration listed "entertainers" under professional, technical, and related workers, still under services taken in the broad sense. The rationale behind the "professional" category is this. Some 20,000 rest and recreation entertainers and the rest of the 300,000 hospitality girls, massage and bath attendants, performers in sex shows, hostesses and waitresses in clubs and cocktail lounges have been placed under Article 138 of the Philippine Labor Code as "professionals" in line with the "adoption of a tourism-investment program", part of the five-year development program of the Philippine government for 1978-1982. Incidentally this program was dictated by the World Bank-International Monetary Fund as a condition for the Extended Facility Fund.

These entertainers are precious to the Philippine dollar-starved economy. They help pay Philippine external debts. Without them, the millionth tourist mark would never have been reached in 1980. Therefore in appreciation, the Bureau of Women and Minors (BWM) gave them a euphoric name - "hospitality girls" - and conducted programs to improve their status so that they will be able "to contribute effectively to the socio-economic development of the country", as a BWM study pointed out in no uncertain terms.

Here is a verse worth quoting:

Hospitality Girl Blues

Thank you for calling me a hospitality girl
For making me feel like I belong
For making my profession sound like a song
Compared to what they called me before, a whore.
Now nobody wants to be called a whore
Not if they know what is in store
For those who are turned into human toys
For the tourists, visiting delegates, and other ploys.
Now I don't know if there are more and more
Hospitality girls like me
Because there are more and more tourists
Or there are more and more tourists
Because there are more and more
Hospitality girls like me

/But

But I am told that I am helping the economy
So this is the old rotten system
That breeds poor people like me ....

Thus in Philippine parlance, "hospitality industry" became the government term for the entertainment sector. Here are definitions found in a PWM paper.

Hospitality Industry: refers to night clubs, dance halls (cabarets), cocktail lounges, therapeutic parlors, massage, steam and sauna baths, clinics, soda fountains, restaurants, beer gardens, kitchenettes, luncheonettes, disco houses and all other similar establishments.

Hostess: a woman who sits with and entertain customers.

Messeuse: a woman who works in a massage clinic and treats customers with massage techniques such as rubbing and stroking, kneading and tapping by using the dexterity of the hands.

Taxi-dancer: a woman worker who dances in a cabaret at a certain rate per dance.

Ago-go dancer: a woman worker who dances alone or with others on stage to disco music.

If one were to call a spade a spade, the principal commodity in this kind of industry is sex, and the rule-of-the-game is the buying and selling of bodies--flesh trade in short.

Turned into a big time business, this flesh trade is traditionally known as prostitution. Proven lucrative in the sex strips close to certain military bases, prostitution has become the come-on for tourism in the seventies. It gave rise to the phenomenon called sex tourism.

Exposed and militantly opposed locally and internationally, particularly through the efforts of the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women (TW-MAE-W), sex tourism has changed its face. The outrageous "package sex tours", rampant up to 1980, do not occur in the same style, size and frequency. No longer do certain groups of tourists come in large numbers for a three day "sexploitation" where the main activity is to sleep with a prostitute picked from a brothel and sneaked into a hotel. The problem of prostitution nevertheless remains. The tourists still use Filipina girls to gratify their sex needs. Mafia-controlled importation of entertainers is the new happening. Young Filipinas from the countrysides are duped into

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accepting entertainment jobs outside the country, not knowing that they would end up as prostitutes. Reports state that even remote villages of a certain Asian countries have Filipina prostitutes.

It must be stressed that the clientele for sex tours is not limited to anyone nationality. They come from wide-ranging areas of the globe and frequent the Ermita tourist belt and also the provincial resorts like Puerto Galera and Pagsanjan Falls. They come in many guises - sometimes in search of a bride, the marriage market being another form of selling housekeepers and nursemaids in a profitable deal.

A concern of long standing is prostitution proliferated by the prescence of military bases. Thousands from the TW-MAE-W international network signed protest letters coursed through the United Nations Second Special Session on Total Disarmament last June 1982; but no response was received. Olongapo City and Angeles City continue to cater to the rest and recreation needs of thousands of sailors and airmen.

The Prostitutes

As early as 1981, TW-MAE-W, aside from being a pressure group in the geopolitical realm, has engaged in primary research. Case studies have been written and an extensive survey conducted.

A profile of a typical prostitute may be drawn from the research data gathered from Olongapo, Angeles, Metro Manila, Batangas, and Cebu. She is usually 18 to 20 years old, Catholic, a daughter of either a farmer, fisherman, or worker from Eastern Visayas or other depressed areas. She has had previous experience as a factory or farm worker, student or domestic helper before taking an entertainer's job as waitress, receptionist, or dancer. She is usually single and if married, usually widowed or separated. She has undergone pregnancy or VD treatment. Guilt-ridden, she looks at herself as sinner or victim. Nonetheless, she is full of hope in a merciful God.

The TW-MAE-W survey, first tested in 1981, then modified and administered in 1982 and 1983, covered 614 respondents from Olongapo (168), Angeles (142), Metro Manila (149), Batangas City (55), and Cebu City (100).

There was direct contact with each respondent. Encounters took place in government venereal diseas (VD) clinics like the City Health Department and VD Control Section in Manila and the Social Hygiene Clinics in Angeles and Olongapo. Since the survey was properly endorsed by the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, there was full co-operation from the government health units.

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Even at the initial stage, the survey results were used by the Commission on Women of the Good Shepherd Sisters as a basis for programming direct services and activities in this field.

TW-MAE-W Findings

From the statistical analysis, the following points may be drawn:

a. Age: It is an important factor in the prostitution business. Clients would prefer flesh while it is still fresh. The income tends to be less for the older respondents.

* The older the respondents, the more they perceive themselves as sinners/dirty and the more they tend to be bored with their job, largely due to the fact that they have been longer at the job. There is a strong feeling of resignation among the older prostitutes. Although they may be discontented, they feel it difficult to leave the job due to lack of employment alternatives. They plan to get other jobs, but the question is when and how. Having more important responsibilities than their younger counterparts, they cling to their current job.

* The younger respondents would tend to earn more even though they have been in the job for a shorter period. They are sad and discontented about the job and a higher percentage among them would like to go back to the rural areas where they came from or to study again. Given the opportunity, they are determined to leave the job. Having less responsibilities than the older respondents, they are more free to do so.

* Irrespective of age, respondents would tend to be hopeful of the future. They have a strong desire to change their lives. The important thing is to find the right approach best suited for the age levels.

* Age per se is not the most important factor in the analysis of the above findings; but rather the factors that go with age, e.g., mobility, responsibilities, maturity, experience, etc. Age is just a good quantitative representation of certain socio-economic factors.

Recommendations for programming:

For older prostitutes: alternative employment (development of certain skills; training). Consideration: quest for greater financial responsibility. Approach: pay particular stress to building self-confidence, eliminating resigned attitude.

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For younger prostitutes: education plus some skill development. (Encouraging them to leave the job is relatively easier because of their strong determination to do so.)

2. Educational attainment: The lower the educational attainment, the lower the income and the more the respondents perceive themselves as dirty/sinners. They also tend to be more resigned and fearful about the future. They would feel it difficult to leave the job for lack of employment opportunities. This is partly because they have no qualifications to get another employment.

* On the other hand, the respondents with higher educational attainments earn higher incomes. Many have a positive self-concept. Inspite of their higher income, they are more determined to leave their job given the right opportunity. These respondents, especially those who have reached college, tend to be more hopeful of the future. Even though they receive more money, the level of discontentment is the same as those having lower educational attainment.

* Education is an important factor in Philippine society and even in the prostitution business to some extent, i.e., in terms of the vulnerability to deception of those with lower educational attainment and in terms of attitudes, perceptions, aspirations of prostitutes. Definitely, it is an important factor that should be considered in programming. Special attention should be given to the least educated because they are vulnerable to further exploitation and less opportunities are available to them.

3. Job acquisition: Respondents who were tricked/forced into accepting the job would perceive themselves as victims and sinners. They would generally feel more sad/discontented with their job and show more determination to leave the job given the right opportunity. Despite their plight, they are still hopeful about the future.

4. Income: This is not a significant variable. Income levels generally do not affect the respondents' perception of themselves, their aspirations, their attitudes and feelings about their job. The only significant finding is that the lower the income, the more they tend to feel that it is difficult to leave the job.

5. Class origin: Respondents coming from very poor families would tend more to see themselves as sinners/dirty. They are also more resigned to their lot as prostitutes and more fearful about their future. While they would generally feel discontented about the job, they feel it difficult to change jobs to lack of opportunities and their inability to do so.

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* Respondents coming from relatively higher economic status would tend to be more determined to stop being prostitutes. They are generally more hopeful about the future. A higher percentage would have a more positive self-concept.

* Class origin is an important variable. Poverty is a strong driving force for persons to resort to prostitution. Experience shows that going into prostitution does not solve the problem of poverty. At best, it provides only temporary relief but not without guilt feelings and mental torment. In programming, due consideration must be given the class origins of prostitutes.

6. Job duration: The longer the respondents have been in the job, the deeper their guilt feelings. They tend to see themselves as bad and sinful; the more they feel bored and tired about their job. However, despite being long in the business, they are just as hopeful as the other respondents. Change is possible as with the other respondents. They should not be neglected simply because they have been long in the job.

7. Job satisfaction and self-concept: Respondents who perceive themselves as sinners/bad tend to be more discontented and unhappy. They think people regard them as cheap. They are more fearful about the future and find it difficult to leave the job. On the other hand, those who stated they are contented about their job are more hopeful about the future, having a more positive self-concept. A higher percentage stated their willingness to stay in the job longer.

* Respondents who feel discontented and perceive themselves bad/sinful have been identified earlier as those who are older, who come from very poor families, who have been tricked/forced into the job, and who have been at it for a longer time.

* Negative self-concept is connected with guilt feelings and a certain fatalistic attitude making the respondents isolated from society and driving them deeper into prostitution. In programming, stress should be given to ways of eliminating guilt feelings and attitudes of resignation.

* It is suggested to provide an education program that would increase social awareness. Instead of blaming themselves, prostitutes should see the social forces that led them to their present situation. The right determination and the right awareness plus tangible opportunities can help them back to a decent life.

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The Male Tourists

A Spanish male friend of TW-MAE-W obliged to conduct interviews over a period of time using a survey from designed by Sister Mary Soledad Perpinan. After establishing rapport, the researcher would request the interviewee to tick off answers in the form. Fifty such interviews were held, each lasting 30 minutes to an hour.

The encounters took place in the disco dens and hotel bars of the tourist belt in Metro Manila. The average age of the male tourists was 39 years. The random sampling showed a variety of nationalities: American, British, Bahraini, Canadian, French, German, Greek, Iranian, Irish, Italian, Japanese, New Zealander, Rumanian, Scottish and Swiss.

Fifty-eight per cent reached college; 33 per cent took up graduate studies; while 12 per cent were high school graduates. Thirty-three per cent professed no religion; 29 per cent were Catholics and 20 per cent Protestants. The rest had no answer.

Sixty-two per cent said they were single; 21 per cent were divorced; while 17 per cent were married.

Their occupations ranged from managers, businessmen, engineers, builders, musicians, journalists, embassy employee, unemployed, student. Most of them had monthly incomes above $US 1,500 (67 per cent); 29 per cent earned from $US 1,000 to $US 1,499; 8 per cent lived on $US 500 to $US 900 a month.

Aside from the Philippines, many of the interviewees visited Thailand as well. A number had been to Malaysia, Hong Kong, Japan and Singapore. One or other had also travelled to India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Indonesia, Taiwan, China, Iraq, Syria and South Korea.

The majority travelled alone mixing business and pleasure. Some came for professional conferences or government assignments. A few joined tour groups.

Seventy-five per cent of the respondents admitted that they avail of local prostitutes to gratify their sex needs. The others ticked "no yet" in the rest of the numbers, their answers indicated that they too indulged in sex experiences perhaps not with local women who are paid for intercourse but with those who do it without financial renumeration.

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The need for prostitutes ranged from several times in one trip or many times over a period of time.

As to the reasons for indulging in sex, the most common answers were: "answers my biological need" and "prostitutes are cheaper and available". Some ticked "they are docile and exotic". Some said, "I can't stand women in my country". Another commented, "I can't stand my wife". Isolated answers were: "fad, status symbol" and "good for my macho image". Two said, "makes me feel less lonely". One attributed his craving for sex to "working offshore". This was echoed by a 28 year old guest worker: "When I work far away from my girl friend and I've to stay for a long time away from her".

Most of the male tourists who were interviewed got their sex partners through their own effort, mainly from bars, clubs, disco dens, and cafes. Some were helped by hotel personnel and taxi drivers. A number had women provided by business associates. A few were influenced by friends.

The favored partners were generally women; a few specified children or very young girls. Three mentioned gays/men.

The average expenditure for sex pleasure during an entire stay would be US$200. One spent that amount weekly.

The various reactions to sexual experiences were: "eases up tension and stress" (60 per cent); "helps me forget problems"; "takes away loneliness"; "makes up for lack of affection"; "makes me feel guilty".

Women are generally viewed as companions and partners. A few answered, "playthings", "sex objects", "joke and fun". One wrote "servants" and another confessed that women are "my only vice".

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The interviewees were asked about their feelings toward Asian women and toward women of their own country. As a whole, feelings toward Asians were positive: "nice", "very friendly", "warm", "charming", "kind", "hospitable". Others said, "very seductive", "very sexy", "hot". One described his feelings as "very positive, although they have stereotyped idea about foreign men".

A barrage of negative feelings came from the respondents with regards to women of their own country: "too liberated", "boring", "authoritarian", "snobbish", "less feminine", "disgusting", "individualistic", "unsatisfactory relation". A few, however, were positive: "nice", "just the same", "good", "very good", "okay", "there's another way to like them".

With regard to prostitution, several felt that it should be "legalized" and "better organized". Although a few believed that it should be promoted, one was adamant about its prohibition. There was concern that prostitutes should not be discriminated against and that they should be better paid.

The open-ended statement, "Prostitution flourishes because . . ." brought the following responses: economic needs (39 per cent); "I need it"; "It's a need"; "It gives an essential service to men"; "loneliness"; "social problems": "repressive morals in Catholic society"; "sexual attitudes in society and distorted sex roles"; "It's the problem in the Third World".

Mulling over these answers brings to the fore a chain of questions that require further investigation and research. They touch on issues of a psycho-social nature: the male ego, the concept of sexuality, feminism and reactions to it, the colonial images of women.

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In the future we would like to go deeper into this matter. Along these lines, friends in the sending countries can be of tremendous assistance. The very act of pondering over some basic questions will be a liberating experience in itself, we hope.

The Political Economy of Prostitution

Transnationalized mass prostitution is an economic institution that has a political economy of its own.

In sex tourism, for instance, there is the vertical integration of airlines, hotels, and travel agencies. They are the real profiteers.

In military prostitution money is made largely through drug-trafficking on an international scale. It is reported that servicemen get drugs from the East and use local prostitutes in Angeles as conduits. The drugs are passed to customers who come in as tourists and who, in turn, smuggle them in a round-about way to another country.

The local owners and managers of brothels, bars, dens, massage parlors and other hospitality establishments also make good business; sometimes they net ₱10,000 or more a night.

Pimps, recruiters, and police protectors also get fat fees. There are considerable tips to taxi-dancers, guides, bell boys, and other go-betweens.

Ironically, the entertainers who do the work and whose bodies are abused are subject to unstable, unpredictable, inadequate income.

Cash earnings reported to the Bureau of Women and Minors are as follows as of 1980:

	Average daily wage	Average monthly salary
Floor managers	₱ 18.47	₱ 400.00
Cashiers	15.00	275.00
Countergirls	11.11	162.50
Checkers	10.00	200.00
Singer	50.00	
Hostesses	21.67	306.49
Waitresses	13.69	135.56
Taxi dancers	13.07	173.15
Masseuses	17.50	200.00
Ago-go dancers	24.27	300.00

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In a paper, Prostitution Tourism written by Sister Mary Soledad Perpinan in 1981, female prostitutes are classified as high class or low class.

High class prostitutes are call girls, college girls, starlets, models, stewardesses, promo girls. They usually get customers through big time pimps. These classy prostitutes demand high pay ranging from ₱300 to ₱3,000 an encounter while the pimp gets a maximum of 50 per cent commission.

Low class prostitutes are hostesses, ago-go dancers, sauna bath attendants, masseuses, pick-up girls, those in "casas" - red houses where girls are numbered and displayed for customers to pick their choice, those who perform lascivious acts on stage. These prostitutes manage to get customers without the help of a pimp. Payment is comparatively low. The operators of the establishments where they work usually get bar fines every time a customer brings out a girl. Bar fines range from ₱50 to ₱100. The prostitutes accept as low as ₱50 for their services.

Export of entertainers, as we have earlier seen, is a common phenomenon. As of June 1983, 5,453 females went to Asia, 305 to Europe, 197 to the Middle East, 86 to Trust Territories, a total of 6,041. They contribute to the much needed dollar remittances of overseas workers. One girl from Leyte by the name of Melba told a Shakagu interviewer that she was getting 120,000 yen a month and was able to send 900,000 yen home. But flesh trade on foreign shores is fraught with hazards.

Conclusion

General Observations: A study of Filipinas in the service and entertainment sector reveals the following:

* the inability of Philippine society to maximize the productive value of women in gainful employment;

* the inadequacy of compensation schemes to provide for a decent quality of life;

* the push from rural villages to urban centers, from the native land to foreign shores in the pursuit of better opportunities and better income;

* the invisible foreign hand behind the exploitation of women, particularly in the entertainment or hospitality industry;

* the collusion of local and external powers in enterprises detrimental to women's welfare;

/* the

* the awakening of the service sector, especially teachers and nurses, to the root causes of their plight and

* the mobilization of groups to get organized and demand changes.

Analysis: The problems of women in the entertainment and service sector are inherently connected with the following major conditions in Philippine society:

* an export-oriented economy having as its pillars dollar-earning exports, foreign investments, and loans;

* the dispossession and exploitation of the peasantry through an unjust tenancy system, wage abuses and usury by landlords;

* exploitation of workers by transnational corporations and local companies due to the international division of labour;

* uneven development of urban and rural areas;

* failure to industrialize and set up factories where Filipinos could be more productive;

* rapid depreciation of real incomes and rampant unemployment;

* a political context marked by polarization;

* the presence of military bases and installations; and

* residue of a neocolonial and semi-feudal culture that peddles women as commodities and propagates the status of women as inferior and subservient to men.

Implications: The growing unrest and dissatisfaction among all classes of Filipinos - the economically deprived, the middle class, and the rich entrepreneurs - are symptoms of societal ills that can no longer be ignored.

There is an urgent need for Filipinos to seek to reform the structure of Philippine society and change its relationships with foreign powers.

Redressing the situation of women in the service and entertainment sector as depicted above is a monumental challenge and both men and women have to join hands in meeting it. In a Third World country like the Philippines, it is foolhardy to pit one against the other. While both sexes fight for and build true nationhood, they should simultaneously break off from the fetters of sexual discrimination and create new relationships for both to blossom beautifully and freely.

/Crucial

Crucial to this is the solidarity of peoples who believe in justice for all, especially for the marginalized and exploited. There is need to transcend national boundaries and to find strength in organized groups bound together by a common endeavour to overcome the causes of peoples' oppression.

Through the United Nations, particularly the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, women of the Philippines and of this region expect policies, programmes, and projects to benefit their lot in more substantial terms as a concrete achievement of this United Nations Decade for Women.

Recommendations

Based on the action-oriented studies and involvements of the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women, the following recommendations are presented to the UN ESCAP for consideration and subsequent action:

1. That the UN ESCAP make known to other concerned UN agencies and bodies the findings of this study because the plight of service workers, particularly teachers, nurses, domestic helpers, and entertainers, is connected with development strategies practised in Third World countries like the Philippines;

2. That advocacy work can be undertaken, pressurizing governments of member countries to do something about their priorities, programmes, policies, legislative measures, etc.;

3. That the international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and UN bodies, be advised to desist from supporting development projects without first ensuring that people's rights, women's rights to dignity in particular, receive all due protection in such projects;

4. That the UNDP and other entities should engage in strategies that will lead to healthier and more stable Third World economies built on real industrialization, genuine land reform and agricultural schemes that are geared to supply the people's basic needs and a less exploited service sector;

5. That member nations with powerful transnational corporations look into the economic and social impact of the current international division of labour with a view to major reforms in this situation;

/6.

6. That non-governmental organizations like the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women be given support in their programmes and services. For instance here are some concrete proposals that TW-MAE-W would like to pursue if necessary logistics are provided:

a. The expansion of this present study to cover other Asian countries so that comparative data may be gathered and trends and patterns identified regarding the situation of teachers, nurses, domestic helpers, and entertainers in the region;

b. A study of Asian migrant workers, particularly in the Middle East, Asia, the Americas, and Europe;

c. The study of socio-economic infrastructure and processes perpetuating prostitution, particularly in connection with the tourism industry and the bride market.

September 1983

Third World Movement Against the
Exploitation of Women
P.O. Box SM-366, Manila

THE NATIONAL INCOME ACCOUNTS OF THE PHILIPPINES
Unit: Million Pesos

Preliminary Estimates as of April 1983

TABLE 1. GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, NATIONAL INCOME AND GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT BY INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN
CY 1980 - 1982

Industry	At current prices			At constant prices of 1982		
	1980r/	1981r/	1982p/	1980r/	1981r/	1982p/
1. AGRICULTURE, FISHERY AND FORESTRY	61,757	69,391	76,181	23,732	24,608	25,378
2. INDUSTRIAL SECTOR	98,162	111,582	122,969	33,471	34,963	35,806
a. Mining and quarrying	8,095	6,849	6,106	2,236	2,175	2,016
b. Manufacturing	65,993	75,151	83,126	23,175	23,959	24,535
c. Construction	21,311	26,238	29,658	7,139	7,830	8,177
d. Electricity	2,763	3,344	4,079	921	999	1,078
3. SERVICE SECTOR	106,089	124,269	141,293	35,503	36,637	37,918
a. Transport, communication and storage	16,444	19,618	21,376	4,827	5,040	5,165
b. Commerce	62,556	72,377	82,497	19,345	19,695	20,366
c. Services	27,089	32,274	37,420	11,331	11,903	12,387
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT at market prices	266,008	305,242	340,443	92,706	96,208	99,102
Net factor income from the rest of the world	(930)	(1,946)	(4,428)	(77)	(214)	(444)
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT at market prices	265,078	303,296	336,015	92,629	95,994	98,658
Indirect taxes net of subsidies	25,846	26,996	29,311	9,009	8,519	8,550
Capital Consumption Allowance	24,543	30,600	34,584	9,440	10,544	11,149
NATIONAL INCOME	214,689	245,700	272,120	74,180	76,931	78,959

Source: NEDA, Statistical Coordination Office

r/ Revised p/ Preliminary

Preliminary Estimates as of April 1983

THE NATIONAL INCOME ACCOUNTS OF THE PHILIPPINES
Unit: Million Pesos

Table 2. GROSS VALUE ADDED IN SERVICES BY INDUSTRY GROUP, CY 1980 TO 1982

Industry/Industry Group	At current prices			At constant prices of 1972		
	1980r/	1981r/	1982p/	1980r/	1981r/	1982p/
1. Government	11,517	13,930	16,389	4,769	5,082	5,340
2. Private	15,572	18,344	21,031	6,562	6,821	7,047
Educational	1,574	1,835	2,198	786	821	864
Medical and Health	2,884	3,419	3,969	972	1,012	1,032
Business	2,062	2,404	2,651	1,017	1,068	1,096
Recreational	1,346	1,568	1,721	477	494	505
Personal	1,866	2,201	2,627	756	779	807
Hotels and Restaurants	3,272	3,885	4,532	1,440	1,500	1,569
Others	2,568	3,032	3,333	1,114	1,147	1,174
SERVICES	27,089	32,274	37,420	11,331	11,903	12,387

r/ Revised
p/ Preliminary

NEDA, Statistical Coordination Office, National Accounts Staff

Table 3. Number of Employed by Major Occupation Group by Class of Worker and Sex, Third Quarter 1978
(IN THOUSANDS)

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP SEX AND AREA	TOTAL	WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS				OWN ACCOUNT WORKERS			UNPAID FAMILY WORKERS	NOT REPORTED
		TOTAL	PRIVATE	OWN FAMILY ENTERPRISE	GOVERN-MENT	TOTAL	SELF-EMPLOYED	EMPLOYER		
PHILIPPINES	16,118	6,820	5,280	137	1,402	6,081	5,364	716	3,200	18
MALE	10,467	4,384	3,474	94	815	4,575	3,952	623	1,497	12
FEMALE	5,651	2,436	1,808	43	587	1,506	1,412	93	1,703	6
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	580	563	142	1	421	12	12	1	4	-
Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers	27	17	9	1	7	10	1	9	-	-
Clerical Workers	326	320	186	3	131	1	1	-	5	-
Sales Workers	1,047	184	165	18	1	668	639	28	195	1
Service Workers	704	618	601	3	14	62	50	12	23	1
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	2,159	286	272	10	4	477	440	37	1,394	2
Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Laborers	797	436	423	7	7	276	269	7	82	2
Occupation Not Adequately Defined	11	11	8	-	3	-	-	-	-	-

Source: National Census and Statistics Office, 1978.

Table 4. Differences in Average Weekly Peso Earnings of Males and Females, 1977

Occupation	Male	Female	Peso Difference	% Female Share
Professional, technical, & related workers	586	361	225	38.1
Administrative, executive, & managerial workers	1,798	742	1,056	29.2
Clerical and related workers	369	318	51	46.3
Sales Workers	407	178	229	30.4
Service workers	295	129	166	30.4
Agriculture, animal husbandry forest, & mine workers	249	72	177	22.4
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators & laborers	270	126	73	31.8
Occupation not adequately defined	273	122	151	30.8
AVERAGE	296	160	136	35.1

Source: NCSO, National Sample Survey of Households Bulletin, 1977.

Table 5. Distribution of Newly Processed Landbased Contract Workers
By Major Occupational Groups and By Sex
January - June, 1983

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	Number	%	Number	%	
Professional, technical, & related workers (entertainers)	4,881 (522)	33.56 (7.95)	9,666 (6,041)	66.44 (92.05)	14,547 (6,563)
Managerial, executive, & administrative workers	220	100.00	-	-	220
Clerical Workers	5,564	90.37	380	9.63	3,944
Sales workers	595	65.75	310	34.25	905
Service workers	8,996	50.05	8,978	49.95	17,974
Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry workers, & fishermen	935	100.00	-	-	935
Production process workers, transport equipment operators and laborers	89,098	99.66	307	0.34	89,405
T O T A L	108,289	84.65	19,641	15.35	127,930

Source: Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), 1983.